NATIONAL REVIEW

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December 22, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Liberal Against Himself

M. STANTON EVANS

Sukarno: Pro-Soviet Neutral

FRANCIS J. BURKE

Appeal of the Captive Nations

Articles and Reviews by ·····C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS
WILLMOORE KENDALL·RUSSELL KIRK·WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM
FREDA UTLEY·MONTGOMERY M. GREEN·ROY CAMPBELL

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For the Record

Nationalist China exercised its veto in the United Nations Security Council to bar the Admission of Communist Outer Mongolia. The United States abstained because, explained our chief delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, jr., the United States does not believe the veto should apply to membership questions. Does this mean we will not use the veto, if the veto is the only weapon at our command the next time Communist China applies for UN membership?

A bad couple of weeks for American communists and party-liners. The 37-year old Communist labor news service Federated Press, which once had 200 subscribers, folded, as did the Red labor monthly, March of Labor....More than twenty New York hotels have refused space to the American Communist Party for its February convention.... In Detroit, Norman Thomas refused to appear on the same platform with Communist Carl Winter because of "Communist imperialism in Hungary...."

Ousted Soviet UN delegate Konstantin Ekimov, expelled from the U.S. for his part in the Soviet redefection campaign, had to carry his own bags aboard the Queen Mary. Longshoremen refused to handle his luggage in protest against Soviet actions in Hungary.... Corliss Lamont, millionaire party-liner, has hired a publicity agent to help him persuade the proletariat of the darkness of their plight.

A final election note: Ninety-nine thousand more Americans (61,651,385 in all) voted in 1956 than in 1952, but in those four years an additional 4.6 million Americans reached voting age.... In Communist Albania, which held its elections last week, the turnout was—as usual—impressive. No less than 99.85 per cent of the people voted; and 99.83 per cent approved the entire slate of Communist Democratic Front candidates. Lloyd's is not insuring .17 per cent of the Albanian population.

Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey has sounded a note of caution against adoption of a large scale new economic aid program for Britain and France. Humphrey says he believes estimates of Europe's dollar needs have been grossly exaggerated.... Among the Russian supplies captured by Israeli troops in Egypt were two million sheets, and over 20,000 toothbrushes.

The lines are drawn in Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Albania have stepped up their criticism of Marshal Tito. Tito, in turn, lashed into the Kadar government of Hungary, calling its suppression of the Workers Councils a betrayal of the Revolution and scoring continued use of Soviet troops.... In Rumania Soviet forces quietly took over control of ammunition dumps and arms depots from the Rumanian army.... In Lithuania, Communist Party leaders admit the Hungarian revolt has touched off "unrest".... In Poland, a concordat between the Catholic Church and the State appears to be in the making.

French Premier Guy Mollet says one quarter of the weapons captured from rebel forces in Algeria were sent to Algeria by Egypt.... Rebel losses in the two-year-old revolt are officially estimated by the French at 16,450.... Photographs and newsreels of the fleeing Egyptian Army taken at Port Said and in the Sinai Peninsula are being distributed all over French North Africa by French authorities.... In a debate on Suez, Mendès-France quipped bitterly: "France is the first country in the world to have managed to blockade itself!"

Tiny Cambodia (4.5 million people) has played the neutralist game so skilfully it is now the only country in the world with resident Soviet, Communist Chinese and United States economic aid missions.... In neighboring South Vietnam, more than 100,000 persons paraded down the streets of Saigon last week in support of rebellious North Vietnam farmers.

Is there a move to repeal the 22nd Amendment prohibiting a third term to a President of the United States? Is there a move to pass an Amendment exempting the incumbent President from the restrictions of that Amendment? The 22nd Amendment only took two years to get through. Mightn't its repeal be effected by 1960?

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● Other than that he voted for Adlai Stevenson, we know nothing about the general views of Dr. Robert Francis Goheen, who will next June succeed Harold Willis Dodds as President of Princeton University. We are nevertheless ready to congratulate the University's Trustees for the sheer symbolism of their appointment. Dr. Goheen is neither a general, an admiral, a businessman nor a politician. He is a scholar and a teacher, and the young father of a large family. His professional field, moreover, is not chemistry, business administration or even Social Science, but—of all things—Greek and the Classics (remember?). If the great universities begin turning education back to educators, and to educators who are interested in the humanities, then indeed a revolution is at hand.

● The 1956 edition of the "modern Olympic Games" has ended with the normal contribution to international bad feeling and hypocrisy, made more shameful than usual by the presence of representatives of the regime that was concurrently engaging in the athletic exercise of driving tanks over Hungarian students, workers and women. By virtue of the ridiculous list of "events" and the pointless point system, the Soviet professionals were given a free propaganda splurge as the true heirs of the ancient Hellenes. Half of the large Hungarian squad made the tragic choice of exile; and the other half the equally tragic decision that they must return to loved ones whom they could not abandon.

● In the UN proceedings of the past two months, the record of the great powers has been uniformly black, with a range from brutality through emptiness to cowardice. Against this record the courage of a number of the small nations of Europe shines all the more brightly. We do honor to Belgium, with its vain but valiant attempt to amend the vicious Afro-Asian-Soviet-U.S. resolution on Suez; to the Cuban representative, Emilio Nunez Portuondo, who has consistently told the truth about the Soviet actions and demanded the appropriate counteractions; to the Irish representative, Mr. Frederick H. Boland, who called on his fellows to institute their own personal boycotts of the Soviet and puppet delegates by refusing to remain in the room while any of them should speak.

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● Nearly a thousand Yugoslav troops have poured into Egypt, to form the largest single national contingent of the growing UN army. It was reported that the first Yugoslav units promptly made friends with Egyptian soldiers, and started giving them rifle instruction—a subject in which, by the record of recent events, the Egyptians could indeed use some improvement. When journalists suggested that this Yugoslav pedagogy was a bit short of ideal neutrality, the reply was made that there were "no UN orders against fraternization."

● The Bonn government has launched an investigation into the operations of Radio Free Europe, and their relation, if any, to the events in Hungary. Since RFE's principal installations are in Western Germany, no formal objection can be made to the inquiry, although unfortunately the issues have become entangled in German domestic politics. But this German investigation gives added urgency to the call for a thorough congressional study of RFE early in the new session. The RFE operation has consequences of much weight on our international position. Whether these are for good or for ill, neither Congress nor the public has any way of judging, since by design or oversight they have been shrouded in secrecy.

● A dinner was held the other day in the Dining Hall of the Yale Law School in honor of the "Defense Counsel in the Recent Connecticut Smith Act Trial." The defense counsel was to be feted, in the words used in the invitation, "for upholding the finest traditions of the American bar in the representation of unpopular causes." What's wrong with that? What's wrong, we contend, is that the invitation is disingenuous. For the dinner was sponsored by an organization (the New Haven Civil Liberties Council) that disapproves the Smith Act; presided over by a man on record as opposing the Smith Act (Dean Eugene Rostow, of the Law School); and addressed by one of the Smith's Act's most relentless critics (Thurman Arnold). In short: the dinner was, patently, not held to honor the defense attorney, but to rail against the law the defense attorney's clients were found guilty of breaking. Why not say so in the first place?

● It is a good thing, indicative of God's goodness rather than man's fickleness, that on specified occasions human beings can, by sheer act of will, lift themselves out of the ruck of preoccupation with personal, national and cosmic problems, to consider, and rejoice in, the fact of our existence. Christmas—after Easter Sunday—is the greatest of these occasions, for it is a day that reminds us of the involvement in our affairs of a Being all wise and all good, the contemplation of whom justifies us in setting aside our sorrows in order fully to partake of our joys. The editors and staff of NATIONAL REVIEW wish our readers a very merry Christmas.

Platonic Sorrow?

During the past six weeks, oceans of printed tears over Hungary have been shed by the newspapers and magazines of this country. In their stream a bitter compound of guilt, horror and frustration has mingled with spontaneous human sympathy. We do not question the subjective sincerity of this emotional outpouring. We only wonder about its seriousness.

Emotion divorced from action and conduct easily shifts into self-indulgence, becomes in fact an excuse for inaction. What impresses us is not merely how little is being done about Hungary, but how little that is specific is even proposed. Obviously there is not much that newspapers and magazines can do directly; but it is part of their business to make clear what might be done, and to urge, on the proper executants, actions in which they believe.

So far as we know, NATIONAL REVIEW was alone in advocating the one fully serious measure: an American ultimatum stating that the employment of Soviet troops against any of the East European peoples would constitute a *casus belli*. We believe that Moscow would have to back down from such an ultimatum.

Let us grant, however, that such a step is beyond what either our government or public opinion is ready to consider. There still remain many political and economic measures that were (and are) available, and that in their cumulative effect might produce certain results. Many have been proposed by someone somewhere, but with rare exceptions the press has not reported them, much less given them editorial support.

None of the press has demanded the step, traditional under comparable circumstances and employed against Hitler, of recalling our ambassador to Moscow. Only a few papers have asked diplomatic steps against the quisling Kadar government in Hungary. No one (except the Irish delegate) has called for a boycott of the Hungarian UN delegation—a boycott which could be put into effect even if it is legally impossible to oust the Kadar representatives from the Assembly. There was no public cry for such an obvious action as to refuse to compete in the Olympic Games with Moscow's representatives.

Both the Republican leader of the Senate (Mr. Knowland) and the Democratic leader of the House (Mr. McCormack) have called for a number of concrete actions, including economic sanctions and boycotts enforced by business and labor as well as gov-

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ernment. Their proposals have been shoved to the bottom of inside columns, and given no editorial notice.

The American Friends of the Captive Nations circulated the "Hungary Pledge" of total boycott while Soviet forces remain in Hungary, together with a list of proposed specific public actions, to all news magazines, magazines of opinion, and major newspapers. A few papers (The *New York Times,* the *New York World-Telegram and Sun,* the *New Bedford Standard-Times*) have given it some notice, along with Quincy Howe and a few other TV commentators. Up to the moment of this writing, no paper has come out with editorial support, and no magazine, except NATIONAL REVIEW, has made any reference to the Pledge —although, we believe, several will probably get around to doing so some day.

We add that the response from our readers to the Hungary Pledge has been instantaneous and massive. Is one to suppose that our readers are unique?

What are we to conclude from this general lethargy among our national "opinion-makers"? Are they compulsively terrorized by the Soviet Union even when it cracks at the seams? Are they so obsessively centered on good living and good times that they fear any specific move in any specific direction, because it might upset the luxurious boat in which we have been cruising?

If our press during these past six weeks truly expresses responsible American opinion, then it has no right to complain, as it does, of the President's do-nothing or "bankrupt" foreign policy.

And we are not sure that it has the moral right even to protest what is happening in Hungary.

. . . By What It Feeds On

Tyranny is government by men who place themselves above the laws. And by its inherent logic tyranny drives those men—be they kings, presidents, or supreme court justices—on and on from an original tyrannical act to a thousand further tyrannies, each needed to shore up the preceding ones. As witness recent events in Clinton, Tennessee.

The Supreme Court's "historic" desegregation decision merely *forbade segregated schools;* it did *not* command desegregation or, presumably, contemplate action by the federal government to force desegregation. Though the decision was tyrannical (by assuming a power that clearly belongs to the state legislatures, the justices placed themselves above the Tenth Amendment), it did not bear upon its face, at least, the mandate for a central government invasion of the local and private freedoms inherited from our grandfathers. But the logic of tyranny will not be gainsaid; and the difference between forbidding segregation and forcing desegregation has already, only two years later, been set aside. Now national police officers are busy getting the goods on citizens who "resist" or "interfere with" desegregation. U.S. marshals are hauling these same citizens out of their homes to be tried by a federal court in another city—and, what is worse, by a federal court able (because the accused have allegedly defied a court "injunction") to proceed without a jury, and able to construe mere picketing, or attending a meeting where certain opinions are expressed, as "interference." All this, moreover, in a community in which, as all observers appear to agree, public opinion is overwhelmingly opposed to desegregated schools.

The desegregationists, in a word, have now got the federal courts back into the business of government by injunction—and have, by so doing, raised yet another issue whose significance far transcends that of the immediate future of the Southern schools. In governing by injunction, the courts become the detailed administrators of the law; they invade the sphere of executive power, as the original Supreme Court decision invaded that of legislative power. There is no room for it in our system of government—but also, if the desegregation decision is to stand, no way to prevent it and a thousand further distortions of the Constitution. The decision must be reversed.

Business As Usual

The Committee of One Million has issued a stern rebuke of Mr. John S. Coleman, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and against the 10th American Assembly, which met at Arden House, in Harriman, New York, for recommending an expansion of trade with Red China. The Committee, founded several years ago to oppose the admission of Red China into the United Nations, which has enlisted the support of men and women of virtually every political hue, is headed by Warren Austin, and directed by a steering committee composed of Senators Paul H. Douglas and H. Alexander Smith, Governor Charles Edison, Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, Congressmen Walter Judd and Francis E. Walter.

Mr. Marvin Liebman, Secretary of the Committee, stated that "Reports from both inside Red China and from other sources show that one of the great weaknesses of the Peiping regime is its inability to achieve a stable economy. Through a resumption of trade, whether in 'strategic' or 'non-strategic' goods, we would assist this regime to stabilize its economy which will permit greater concentration on strengthening its military power. The military power of Communist China has already been used against the U.S., and there is no reason to assume that it will not be [so] used again . . .

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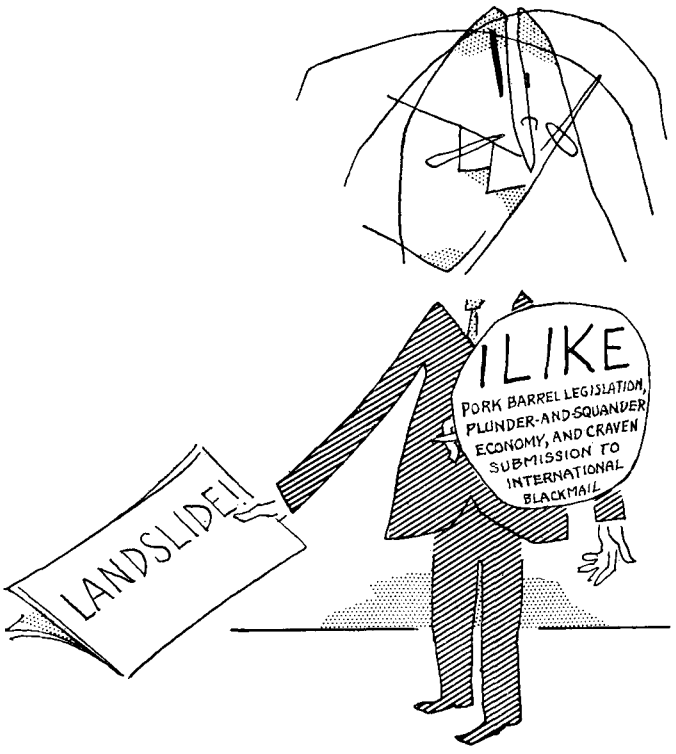
"Another reason for vigorously opposing trade with Red China is the fact that so much of the production of that country is produced by slave labor. The ethical considerations against trade with a nation that bases a large part of its economy on slave labor are obvious . . ."

Obvious, that is, to practically everybody except Mr. Coleman, the 10th American Assembly, and one or two others.


I LIKE
PORK BARREL LEGISLATION, PLUNDER-AND-SQUANDER ECONOMY, AND CRAVEN SUBMISSION TO INTERNATIONAL BLACKMAIL
LANDSLIDE!

Kreuttner

The New "Republican"

For Ever and Aye

The current attack on the filibuster differs from—and is more sinister than—earlier attacks because of this: The earlier attacks were made by men who wrapped themselves temporarily in the cloak of majority-rule dogma merely to achieve victory on an immediate policy question. Not so Hubert Humphrey and company: they are simultaneously engaged in a war on the filibuster *and* an attempt to transform the Democratic Party into a Labor Party that, unlike the parties of the American past, will seek a majority mandate for an ideologically-inspired program.

They have, to be sure, an immediate policy purpose —dishing the South on desegregation—that would have hurled them against the filibuster at this time anyway. But they mean to get rid of it for ever and aye, because simple and unchecked majority-rule in the Senate is indispensable to the achievement of their long-run purposes. They look forward to a long series of riding roughshod over the wishes of the minority. And they would still be ready to fight the filibuster even if no immediate issue were involved.

The majority principle, according even to Rousseau, makes sense only in decision-making groups where there has been a prior unanimous agreement on fundamentals. And such agreement tends to emerge only where all have enough confidence in each other to believe that their rights and interests will be safe in the hands of the majority. The Framers did not think of the population of the United States as constituting such a group and hoped it would never so develop. NATIONAL REVIEW shares that hope, values highly all institutions that stand in the way of nation-wide plebiscites, and calls upon others to think twice before running the risks such plebiscites would involve. If the filibuster goes, the Jacobins will make short shrift of the remaining barriers to them. Why not a Constitutional Amendment declaring that future Constitutional Amendments may be effected by a simple majority of Congress and the states?

Playback of a Halfback

Speaking for ourselves, we would have turned off the tape-recorder while Mr. Eisenhower unburdened himself of his now-famous remarks about his mandate —just as we discreetly look away from the dinner-guest when he spills the gravy. Since, however, no one did turn it off, and since there is something to be learned about the workings of a man's mind from his impromptu prose, let's play it back for ourselves. Hear it now . . .

I think if I didn't believe this was somewhat of a mandate to me (that is, he does not believe he has a mandate, exactly, but something sort of like a mandate) *a mandate to me to push forward* (nothing tentative about that, for here speaks the Victor of Normandy) *with what I have been telling the United States is my policy, my beliefs, my convictions, and a program* (so it is the *program* he is going to push forward with, and the "what I have been telling" was just a hurdle he had to get over; and it does add up—he believes he has a sort of mandate for a program, and if he didn't believe it . . .) *then* (and at last we find out where the "I think" belongs) *then I would be arrogating to myself* (never mind the fact that he means "attributing to myself") *a tremendous personal magnetism and standing that probably* (even about this he can't be sure) *would make me about* (one more escape clause, for extra safety) *as egotistical as any man in the world.*

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Imitating the President's oratorical vein, we might say we think we are about convinced that he will push forward the next four years with a sort of onslaught against World Communism—if, of course, there is such a thing.

Teen-Age Voters?

The enfranchisement of eighteen-year-olds is reportedly on the agenda of the Administration. During the coming session of Congress the slogan "If they are old enough to fight they are old enough to vote" will reverberate through its halls. It has all been hastened by the recent success of the GOP in traditionally Democratic Kentucky, where teen-agers vote. The political brass reason that the new generation, less given to ancient prejudices, are seeing the light of the New Republicanism.

Should the age limit of the electorate be lowered? True, many high school graduates know as little about affairs of state as do their fathers, and hence are presumably qualified to vote. But the new result of catering to teen-agers would be merely an increase in the cost of elections. (In most states, "maturity" in the marital sense is not presumed to have been attained by males before the age of twenty-one; so that if the proposal becomes law the obligations of citizenship will officially be held to be less grave than the obligations of matrimony; as of course, they are.)

As to the argument which equates eligibility for the draft with eligibility for full citizenship—well, it strikes us as dubious. What about the contrapositive? Should those *not* able to fight *not* be allowed to vote? The next step might be the syllogism: Those old enough to fight, and vote, are old enough to marry and have children. You take it from there. We're bored.

Facts Forum, R.I.P.

Facts Forum was founded five years ago by Mr. H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Texas, on the assumption that adequate presentations of both sides of current controversies were not being heard. Mr. Hunt, a Texas multimillionaire concerned with preserving his country's constitutional patrimony, poured money into a magazine and multifarious radio and television programs in which opposite positions on public issues were taken. He grievously offended the Liberals, however, by consistently calling upon genuine, rather than nominal, conservatives to support the position of the Right. Thus he called, frequently, on such men and women as Freda Utley, General A. C. Wedemeyer, Vivien Kellems, Frank Chodorov, Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Henry Hazlitt, and others, to talk back to prominent Liberal spokesmen. For his pains, he was accused of every kind of perfidy and dissimulation. Mr. Hunt never affected to be neutral himself: he is a conservative, and proud of the fact. Even so, he was scrupulously fair in furnishing a forum for those who disagreed with him.

Last week, five years and heaven only knows how many million dollars later, Mr. Hunt—for reasons of his own, any number of which are understandable—decided to bow out. The nation should vote him its thanks for a signal service to a genuine understanding of the problems of the day.

Something's Up, Up There

Imagining things? Well, maybe. Maybe yes, but then again, maybe no. Bear with us a while, and see what you think. It began—that is we got the first hint of it—a couple of months ago. Remember that plane? Of course—how can you forget a plane that shoots *itself* down, that flies right smack into its own cannon shell. Don't tell *us* there wasn't more there than meets the eye.

Then there was the plane in England. Here's an RAF lieutenant doing loop-the-loops, eight miles up. And what happens to him? His ejector seat suddenly ejects him, without any notice whatever, *right* out into the stratosphere—or atmosphere, or whatever you call it, 43,000 feet up. Faulty mechanism? Tell it to the Marines.

And just last week, our own Air Force, playing guided missile, suddenly reports one of its *Snarks* is missing, last seen heading toward South America. Now this *Snark* has an instrument panel equipped with radio and radar, and when the control man on the ground pushes a button, the *Snark* is supposed to gee, and come winging back to the stable. So the control man pushes the button—and the *Snark* keeps right on going. A bunch of Air Force pilots scramble into their flying machines with orders to follow the *Snark* and shoot it down—at least before it reaches South America. But by the time they're there, the *Snark* is gone. Then some bright fellow remembers there's a gadget in the *Snark* that will blow it up any time this step is considered necessary. Out goes the order. "Hey you *Snark,* up there, obliterate yourself." And the *Snark* refuses. Just plain refuses. Anyway, when last sighted, it is still flying toward South South America, its nose pointed right at the heart of Brazil.

Coincidence? Well, maybe. But, if not, could this be *it*—the revolt of the robots we've heard so much about? So far, they're just being playful—automated delinquents, you might call them. No one has been badly hurt so far but . . . just suppose one of these monsters becomes downright ornery . . .

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Mr. Dulles' Heir-Apparent

Mr. John Foster Dulles may or may not continue to hold the title of Secretary of State, but the power and the glory (?) are soon to be vested in the Under Secretary. Governor Christian Herter's prerogatives and responsibilities will far exceed the not inconsiderable "standard" duties and authority of the Under-Secretaryship. Moreover, he has been chosen for the role of "Mr. Bountiful."

The new U.S. policy is expected to include foreign aid provisions that will dwarf the Marshall Plan and make all previous prodigalities seem like dissipation at the dime store. Not being entirely impervious to the satirical possibilities of Uncle Sam once more appearing in red suit and white beard, the President may defer its announcement until after his inaugural address and first messages to Congress. But come January Uncle Santa will ride again, with Christian Herter cracking the whip.

Under Herter the Policy Planning Board, which has been anemic since the days of Dean Acheson, may well regain its old predominance in State Department affairs. Paul Nitze, who headed the Board in the Truman Administration, is a friend of the Governor and a relative of Mrs. Herter. Philip H. Watts, also a former member of the Board, was Herter's host on his recent visit to Washington. Watts has also served as a director of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins, which Herter founded. It is a fairly good bet that Nitze or Watts or both will be called back to membership on a rehabilitated Board.

Governor Herter was born in Paris of American parents; his boyhood was spent between the diplomatic and artistic environment of the European continent and the home of an uncle in New York. After Browning preparatory school and Harvard University (*cum laude* 1915), Herter received his first State Department appointment as an attaché of the American Embassy at Berlin, rising with dramatic swiftness in 1916 to the high-ranking post of Acting Minister at the American Legation in Brussels during the illness of the Minister, Brand Whitlock. For the next several years Herter remained in the State Department. In 1918 he was named secretary to the American Peace Commission. Two years later, at the request of Mr. Herbert Hoover, he became executive secretary of the European Relief Council. (Mr. Herter was one of the best-known protéges of Mr. Hoover, whose son he now succeeds as Under Secretary of State. It has long been an open secret in Washington that Under Secretary Hoover did not enjoy the full confidence of the Eisenhower regime or agree with its foreign policy.)

After Woodrow Wilson's dream of American participation in The League of Nations was shattered by the Senate, the young and disappointed Mr. Herter forsook (temporarily) the international field and became personal assistant to Mr. Hoover, at the time Secretary of Commerce (1921-1924). Then came seven years of editing and writing and a series of lectures on "Government" at Harvard.

In 1931 Mr. Herter was ready for his first political plunge. Elected as a Republican to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, he served for a decade, the last four years as Speaker. In '42 he won the congressional seat of the 10th Massachusetts district, beginning the first of five terms. His best remembered and most significant work in the House was his leadership of a 19-man Congressional delegation which made a European inspection trip to blueprint the Marshall Plan. In a quiet way he was more influential than most of his Republican colleagues. His internationalist convictions won the confidence of many Democratic members. Senator Mike Monroney (then a House member) was one Democrat who believed the European Recovery Program would never have passed without Herter's efforts.

In 1952, Herter was one of the small band of Republican Wise Men who saw Eisenhower's star rising. At the risk of losing a relatively "safe" seat in the House, he accepted the Republican gubernatorial nomination in Massachusetts to help "Ike" and the national ticket. He won by a scant 14,000 votes but was re-elected in '54 by a substantial margin.

There is no evidence to indicate that Herter was aware of, or, a party to, Harold Stassen's abortive effort to "dump Nixon." On the contrary, his activities before and during the Convention were those of a dedicated member of the Eisenhower "team."

Governor Herter will soon be at bat. No one can say what will happen in four weeks, much less four years, but if there is "a tide in the affairs of men," Christian Herter is not floundering in slack water.

Congressional Resistance

The Eisenhower-Herter foreign policy is clearly indicated though not yet visible in specific billions of foreign aid. That need not prevent a common sense forecast of what Congress will do when the budget-busting billions in appropriations are tossed to Capitol Hill for approval. There are a few fighters left in the Senate—where it counts most—but even the most dedicated of these are not hopeful that Congress will resist Administration demands for unlimited largesse, demands backed by a screaming Liberal press.

One able and realistic Senator who has fought well and vigorously for charity at home before profligacy abroad told this reporter (sadly): "Public opinion is against expanded foreign aid, but the Administration is riding whip and spur and with real or synthetic emergencies as additional goads . . . nothing but an avalanche of popular protest can stop it . . . and that isn't in the cards. . . ."

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Sukarno: Pro-Soviet Neutral

FRANCIS J. BURKE

There is irony in the complaint of neutralist Indonesia that its annual handout this year from the U. S. has been a niggardly $15 million, instead of the expected $35 million. For President Sukarno has repeatedly proclaimed his anti-capitalism—e.g., in a speech during his Russian visit: "Indonesia wants the whole world to be free from capitalism."

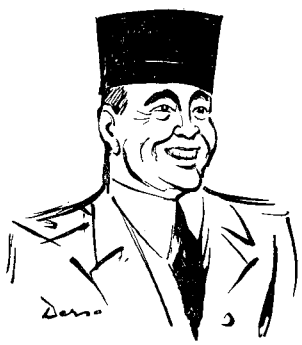
Coming from a head of state whose government has received some $200 million in direct aid from the capitalistic U.S., in addition to a loan of $100 million through the Import-Export Bank, this statement might have been expected to cause some uneasiness in Washington. But Mr. Sukarno got away with it. He also got away with a further $55 million which his government was permitted to draw on July 31 from the International Monetary Fund, ostensibly to aid the payment of debts due the Netherlands, which he repudiated five days later.

American largesse, product of the capitalistic system which Mr. Sukarno so abhors, resulted in the ousting of our Mutual Security setup in Indonesia in 1952, on the pretext that it was attempting to influence Indonesian policy. The qualms of nationalistic conscience were not felt, of course, until after the American aid had been received. It is not irrelevant to note that they preceded by almost four years the prodigal hospitality shown Mr. Sukarno on his official visit to our shores.

There was a time in American diplomatic history when friends were treated as friends, enemies were not, and neutrals such as Mr. Sukarno were coolly examined. But that was in the days when the interest of the U.S. was regarded as a legitimate interest of its Department of State. Sukarno, on his Russian junket, praised the Soviet Union as a country that "has always fought for freedom and is still fighting for justice." He has demanded the admission of Communist China to the UN. He devoted a large part of his speech of November 10, opening the long-promised Indonesian Constituent Assembly, to the demand for a one-party system—a demand which he had already made on October 29, coupled with the significant remark that he had picked up some "wonderful ideas" during his visits to the USSR and Red China. He not only has repudiated Indonesia's debt to the Netherlands but is bent on depriving that country of West New Guinea. Yet in the eyes of the U.S. Government—and, it must be said, of most of the U.S. press—Mr. Sukarno is O.K.

The Indonesian Republic dates its independence from August 17, 1945, two days after the Japanese surrender. In the period 1942-1945 Sukarno collaborated so well with the Japanese that they elevated him to the Presidency which he continues to hold. From collaboration with the Japanese Sukarno turned to collaboration with the Communists. This unabashed switch from Japanese to Soviet friendship might be explained away as mere opportunism but for one disturbing fact: his Vice President, Mr. Hatta, is Moscow trained, *à la* Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

The Indonesian House of Representatives is at present composed of 231 members, of whom 39 are Communists. Sukarno is head of the largest party, the Peoples' National Party (PNI), but since it does not have a majority in Parliament he depends on Communist support. The long-heralded Constituent Assembly, now meeting in Djakarta to write the permanent Constitution, has elected Mr. Wilopo of the PNI as chairman. This could be done only with the help of the Communists, who have 80 votes out of 512, to the PNI's 119 and who, with support picked up from splinter groups of the 37 political parties represented, are able to control Mr. Sukarno's political fate. These facts may in some measure explain Mr. Sukarno's odd neutralism; they do not explain the U.S. Government's odd affection for him.



Possibly they also account for Indonesia's recent behavior in the UN. It voted against Anglo-French interference in the Suez, but abstained on the U.S. resolution calling on the USSR to cease interference in Hungary. On November 21, it once more abstained on a resolution calling on the USSR to cease deporting Hungarians and to return those already deported. On November 20, however, it had joined with India and Ceylon to introduce a resolution calling on the Hungarian puppet regime to admit UN observers—no very bold anti-Soviet gesture in view of the previous ineffectiveness (Israel, Vietnam, Korea) of all such UN "teams."

The U.S. has every reason to be concerned about Sukarno's pro-Soviet "neutralism," as a quick glance at the map will show.

Indonesia (formerly the Dutch East Indies) stretches from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific and numbers about three thousand islands, some very small (Enganno) others large (Sumatra, Java). These islands comprise the third richest country in the world in natural resources, surpassed only by the U.S. and the USSR. They are the world's largest producer of rubber and have untold and untapped resources of copper, nickel, nitrates.

The Indonesian Republic is at one point fifty miles from the Philippines and at another 250 miles from Australia. For over three hundred years the islands were colonized by a country (the Netherlands) friendly to the United States. Indonesia, particularly the large islands of Java, Celebes and Borneo, would seem to be just as important to our Pacific defenses as the Philippines.

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Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

Out of Mr. Nixon's World

In reading both the European and the U.S. press, one is overwhelmed at this moment by the breakdown of communication. It is simply not the same world one reads about. The two continents are separated as never before.

If, for example, an intelligent and well-informed European were to read the policy speech Vice President Nixon delivered on December 6, he would rub his eyes in utter disbelief. This, he would think, is simply impossible—the Vice President of the United States *could* not have said, in the early December days of 1956, that "history will give eternal credit to our President and Secretary of State for choosing the hard road of principle."

He *could* not have said that "now, we, as members of a newly invigorated United Nations, are free to pursue a sound and permanent peace in that area [the Middle East]."

He *could* not have said that "the events of Hungary will prove to be a major turning point in the struggle to defeat world Communism without war."

He *could* not have said that "as a result, Communist parties are breaking up all over the world."

He *could* not have said: "As we examine, then, the events of the last forty days in both the Middle East and Hungary, I think we can reach but one inescapable conclusion. . . . A sound foundation has been laid in the process for building a world order based on law rather than force, and for the defeat of Communism without war."

No (the intelligent European would think), no, the Vice President of the United States surely could not *so* misread reality! But the point is he *did*. And millions of Americans are willing to accept Mr. Nixon's surrealistic view of the world situation as a competent statement of fact. Yet it would seem impossible to make Europeans share his gay serenity.

Europeans, no matter where they stand politically, are in complete agreement on *one* issue: that, during these "last forty days," the so-called free world has suffered its worst defeat since Yalta. Some Europeans jubilate and other Europeans mourn. But *all* Europeans would agree that the Nixon speech would have been made in Europe only under the influence of some strong and strange potion.

The European press—from Berlin to Madrid, from Naples to Oslo, and from the extreme Left to the extreme Right—is at this moment in consensus on several assessments of the recent events and their consequences:

1. England and France have proved themselves, to the whole world, incapable of *any* policy of their own, in the face of American displeasure.

2. The Soviet Union has become the prevailing power in the Middle East where, across the Mediterranean and *via* the oil pipes, Europe's strategic fate will be determined.

3. The Soviet Union was allowed to suppress the Hungarian revolt with *Schrecklichkeit,* so that every other satellite nation of Europe can now comprehend the utter hopelessness of revolt.

4. The Soviet conduct in Hungary had some negative effect on the intellectual fringes of Europe's Communist movement, but it was accepted by the hardened Communist cadres with much less revulsion than, say, the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. The Communist parties, therefore, emerge as even more reliable instruments of World Communism than they ever were before.

5. The only remaining free agent in the West is the U.S.—and the U.S. has demonstrated, in the UN, that it makes common cause with the Afro-Asian bloc, and even the Soviet Union, rather than take the risks of defending the West.

6. In Europe, the Titoist and semi-Titoist regimes are now even more desperately in need of Russian protection than before the Hungarian revolt, simply because the Hungarian rebellion has shown that, once in action, suppressed people turn against *any* kind of Communism.

7. In Asia, the unparalleled defection of the U.S. from any conceivable Western strategic concept has hardened "neutralism" and has persuaded the last Mohicans of a Western orientation that they were backing a losing proposition.

In sum, Europe is morally impressed by the noble Hungarians—and politically persuaded that the U.S. has finally chosen pacifist "coexistence" with the Soviet Union. In any dilemma between emotional morality and realistic assessment, no European in his right mind has ever hesitated to adjust himself to reality.

Which, at this moment, means the following adjustments in Europe:

1. The West German Republic is getting ready to renounce Adenauer's policy of a German alliance with France and England. Now that France and England are no longer even second-rate powers, and now that the U.S. has abdicated its first-rate power to the UN, West Germany will go it alone.

2. France, having so monstrously lost face in the Arab world, is seeking a fast exit from her North-African commitments to futility.

3. England's frustrated Conservative Party, if it wants to stay in power, will have to withdraw from NATO commitments on the Continent. It tends toward a new Commonwealth isolationism. Labor hopes to ride into power on Eisenhower's pacifistic coat-tails. Labor, too, proclaims British isolationism *vis à vis* the Continent.

4. Greece and Turkey are in no mood to continue much longer a pro-Western policy which so clearly pays no dividends. And now that the Soviet Union has been allowed to outflank the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece and Turkey will have to reconsider their exposed positions.

5. Realizing the enormous implications of the American abdication in favor of the UN, the Soviet Union will inflate the area of Soviet-American "cooperation" and will turn the UN, increasingly, into perhaps the most effective instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

This is the kind of world Europe faces. It has not the slightest resemblance to the globe Vice President Nixon seems to use in preparing his speeches.

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The Liberal Against Himself

As Sir Oracle, the author shows by comparison of his various Expert pronouncements concerning Moscow and its satellites, Mr. George Kennan is a little woolly—also wild

M. STANTON EVANS

From his scholar's chair at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., George F. Kennan—diplomat, strategist, historian—surveys the charred ruins of the Hungarian resistance. Respectfully at his knee, armed with a tape recorder, sits reporter Joseph Alsop. The ensuing conversation, as transcribed in the *Saturday Evening Post* for November 24, 1956, adds up to this:

Kennan, as "our No. 1 Expert on Russia," has known all along that satellite rebellions were going to take place, and actually predicted (in 1945) that they would. He now predicts still further uprisings, because "the same fundamental forces are at work throughout the whole area." Reporter Alsop cannot get Kennan to say what these "fundamental forces" are. Aversion to "Russian rule" pops into the conversation—and then melts unobtrusively into something which might be aversion to Communism itself. The satellite peoples were irked because of "the failure to meet economic plans," and—as Mr. Kennan almost, but not quite, gets around to saying—because Communism denies the elementary rules of ethics. The "events" in Hungary, Kennan says, "have grandeur, very great grandeur, because they are visible proof that certain principles, certain moral principles, really must be observed in the long run in the successful government of great peoples."

It is reasonable to infer from this that Kennan thinks there is something wrong with Communism, and that he suspects a like belief among Hungary's freedom fighters. He does not, however, actually *say* anything critical about Communism. "The Soviet Government" appears just about at the point where "Russian rule" drops. From here he glides back to the "fundamental forces" again, and the interview, with a warning that "timing" is a hard thing to predict, draws to a close.

The Oracle, of course, was ever thus. If you are certified as an Oracle, you can look pretty good no matter which way things shake down. But Kennan, it develops, even in the fastness of his vague Expertise, can be surprised into saying something specific. When this happens, certain brash laymen will point out that the predictions of our "No. 1 Expert" have chalked up zeros across the board.

No "Finality," After All

Six months ago, George Kennan was telling the world that:

> What we must recognize today, in the case of the satellites, is that evil, like good, produces its own vested interests. *Where regimes of this nature have been in power for more than a decade, there can be no question of putting Humpty Dumpty* [i.e., a relative condition of freedom] *together again and restoring the* status quo ante . . . *there is a finality, for better or worse, about what has now occurred in Eastern Europe* . . . Whether we like it or not, the gradual evolution of these Communist regimes to a position of greater independence and greater responsiveness to domestic opinion is the best we can hope for as the next phase of development in that area.

So said Kennan on May 3, 1956. Now, six months later (having seen the opposite happening) he adds that he knew there was no "finality" about those regimes at all. To the layman it seems clear that the Kennan of six months past had not the vaguest idea of what he was talking about.

In general, Kennan protects himself with what might be called "prediction in depth"—i.e., predictions of any number of contradictory things, hung together in a meticulously loose style that leaves plenty of room for maneuver. By paying out opaque, tentative statements, modified by other tentative statements, to which are added still other tentative statements, *ad infinitum*, Kennan can usually work around to saying just the opposite of what he appeared to be getting ready to say. The whole is given a semblance of unity by extremely positive or "hard-headed" statements on matters that are either not in question ("there is no such thing as gratitude in international affairs") or of no importance ("the collectives of the future will be voluntary cooperatives").

Kennan's talent for woolly verbalizing makes it difficult to challenge his opinions. But even when he flounders into a mistake of colossal magnitude (as above), he has another, and even better, line of defense—his reputation as an Expert. It is, thus, useful to explore the sources of this reputation and to inspect the kind of thinking that recommmends "our No. 1 Expert" to his breathless following.

In 1952, Kennan, a career diplomat, served as American Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Retired from that post, he went to the Institute for Advanced Study, where he is turning out a minute chronicle of Bolshevism in its formative years. (The first volume, entitled *Russia Leaves the War*, was published this year and was reviewed by former Ambassador William C. Bullitt in NATIONAL REVIEW of December 8.) But his expert rating predates even these somewhat less than spectacular achievements.

Kennan's reputation is in large measure owing to a volume, published in 1951, called *American Diplomacy*. The peroration of this book,

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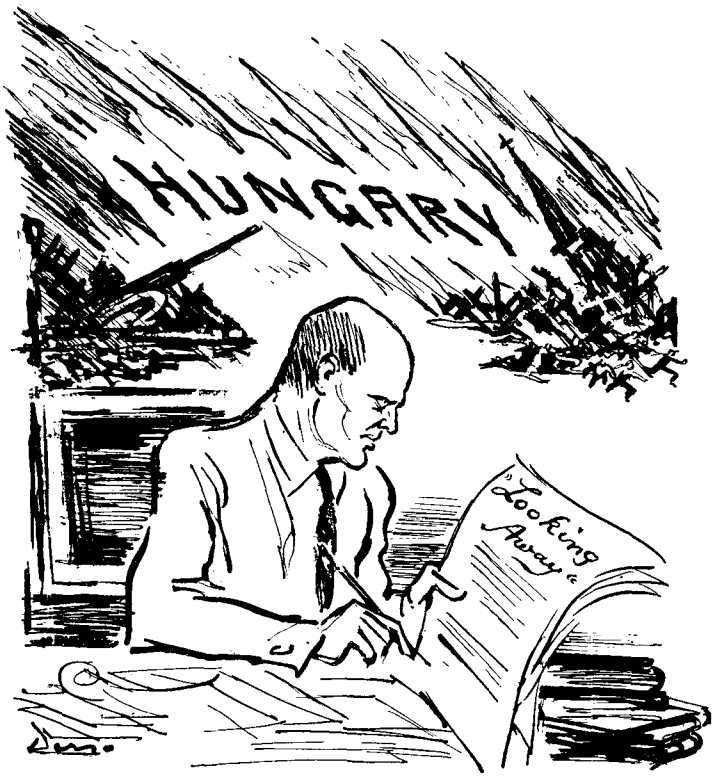
consisting of two articles previously published in *Foreign Affairs*, sets forward the famous policy of Containment.

Containment, as everyone will recall, was a rough plan for stopping the Communists any time they crossed a certain line dividing our half of the world from theirs. The plan of confronting "the Russians with unalterable counter-force," wherever they tried to hop over that line, was not mere eggheadery on Mr. Kennan's part. At the time he thought it up he was the head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff. There was even one instance (Korea) in which Containment's "counter-force" went into action.

"De-Stalinization" Speech

When the Soviet "de-Stalinization" campaign erupted last winter, Kennan came center-stage to declaim "the meaning of the change." This he did in the form of a long speech (part of which has been quoted above). Since Kennan's interview in the *Post* contains no policy recommendations whatever, this speech constitutes his most recent public venture in policy-thinking, representing something of a departure from *American Diplomacy*. It is therefore of importance in any attempt to understand George Kennan's "thought," and especially in an attempt to place his recent pronouncements in their proper context.

The treatment accorded to Kennan's "de-Stalinization" speech also helps us to see how he keeps his Expert medal shined up. Four days after Kennan delivered his analysis in Pittsburgh, on May 3, Mr. James Reston briefed *New York Times* readers on the fact that Kennan was making the rounds with a "paper" (i.e., his speech), and that it was enjoying considerable private circulation. Thereafter, Kennan's words began to get real mileage. In odd permutations, the speech appeared in the *New Republic* (June 11), the *New Leader* (June 18), and the old *Harper's* (August). The text is never quite the same in these magazines, although whole paragraphs are identical; but surprisingly enough the central idea — which comes through with a clarity unusual for Kennan—remains the same in all



the articles. The central idea is: "the Russians," since the death and renunciation of Stalin, have "changed."

Even in his more recent effort in the *Post*, Kennan sticks to this one. It is apparently the single idea that is lodged firmly in his mind. To reach this point he has to go through certain steps of analysis. If we follow him through these steps we see that, although he is faithful to himself on this point throughout 1956, he is not faithful to himself as of, say, 1947-52. This raises a question: If Kennan was an Expert in 1947-52 (as everyone says he was), and now is in fundamental disagreement with his position of that time, is he an Expert now? Conversely, if his Expertness is *now* conceded, could he have been an Expert then?

In *American Diplomacy*, Kennan makes some interesting comments about "the Russians." "The Russians," he points out, think differently from their enemies, the Captialists. In his opinion: a) Communists "are not likely to be swayed by any normal logic in the words of . . . bourgeois representatives." And b) "since there can be no appeal to common purposes, there can be no appeal to common mental approaches."

Thus Mr. Kennan as of 1947.

In his more recent incarnations, from *U.S. News and World Report* to the *New Republic*, Kennan has stressed the desirability of a *rapprochement* between the United States and Soviet Russia. In the last refurbishing of his views on "de-Stalinization" (in *Harper's*), he admonishes Americans:

> Let us not, after having criticized the Russian Communists all these years for being too totalitarian, pour scorn and ridicule upon them the moment they show signs of becoming anything else.

Kennan does not cite any of these signs but he more than makes up for that trivial omission with extra helpings of Expertise. As an Expert, Kennan demonstrates a) that the "normal logic" of Communist leaders is precisely the same as that of a representative Western mind (his own); and b) that, within the next ten years, the United States must make a strenuous effort to stop Communism in its tracks by appealing to "common purposes."

Kennan informs us that Khrushchev and Bulganin, under Stalin's rule,

> lived not only in terror of their own lives . . . they lived also in the constant fear that he, with his excessive violence and cruelty, would eventually wreck the Soviet regime and the world Communist movement itself.

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How on earth (a layman might be tempted to ask) could Kennan know a thing like that? It does not seem likely that the Communist leaders would make Mr. Kennan, a man dedicated to preserving Western society, privy to their inmost thoughts. Kennan's conclusions, therefore, must be based on inference. And, if he was right in 1947, how can he now accept such an inference, produced by his own "normal bourgeois logic," as if it were a self-evident fact?

The Expert on B & K

However he manages the thing, Kennan does treat this self-condemned reasoning as fact, and proceeds to base all his Expert thinking on it. *Because* B & K are contrite about Stalin's excesses, Mr. Kennan believes that Russia is troubled with "far less terror, internally." "Relaxation of restrictions"; "greater liberality"; "more liberal attitudes"; "greater maturity, confidence, and courtesy"—thus Kennan characterizes various phases of Russian life and policy. His words make interesting reading alongside the dispatches which every day pour out of Hungary.

From his analysis Kennan concludes (because B & K are so upset about all the bad things that Stalin did) that the Soviet Union is evolving into "something resembling a traditional authoritarian state, oligarchically governed." And, Kennan asks, "*What more do we want in three-and-a-half years?*"

That question would be easier to answer if there were any reason to believe that the "liberalizing" Kennan so Expertly conjures has actually taken place. We have only his (and Khrushchev's) Expert word for it—to set over against the bleeding corpse of Budapest. At any rate, Kennan caps this reasoning with a proposal that the United States should "assume that there will be peace":

> Let us set our sights by this assumption and proceed to the execution of that tremendous task that would lie before us—at home and abroad—even in a world wholly untroubled by the faintest suggestion of another major war.

And what is this momentous task? "This is the task of learning, and of helping others to learn, how man can live in fruitful harmony with the natural environment God gave him to live in." Up to this point, Kennan's program sounds like More Foreign Aid, preferably of the Point Four variety; but then he adds: "—and, what is even harder, how he can live in fruitful harmony with himself."

Now if this talk of fruitful harmony means anything (and, of course, it must mean *something,* because Kennan is an Expert), it means that, by some unknown process, America will get into fruitful harmony with Soviet Russia. Kennan does not say how this can be done (in fact, he does not elaborate on his new program at all), but certain notions are necessarily contained in the concept of "fruitful harmony" itself. Namely, an appeal to common purposes or common mental approaches. Kennan confirms this interpretation of his project by saying:

> If we were to follow this course for ten years, and if, at the end of that time, our Russian friends were still an ugly and dangerous problem to us, I would then be prepared to join in the demand that we despair of the prospects for coexistence, and cast about for more drastic and dramatic expedients.

Just Look Away

Thus, to replace Containment, the New Kennan evolves a Brand New Policy. He calls it handling "the Soviet problem by learning to look away from it." He does not speculate on what the Communist leaders (from whose very minds, not two pages back, he has just emerged) will be doing while our gaze is steadfastly directed elsewhere, or just what the strategic position of the United States will be when at last, in a desperation shared even by Mr. Kennan himself, it resorts to more "dramatic expedients" than Looking Away.

In one article or another, Kennan offers various concrete proposals to implement Looking Away. For instance, the proposal (previously quoted) that the United States make up its mind that "there is a finality, for better or worse, about what has now occurred in Eastern Europe." Then, with this common sense in its head, the United States (still implementing Looking Away) should accede in the entry of Communist China into neutral zones that "could eventually come to constitute a bridge" between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It apparently does not occur to Kennan that, since "the Russians" have become so "liberal," they should be willing to let one of the countries they have enslaved serve as such a "bridge," rather than requiring us to urge that role on our allies. Under Kennan's policy of last May, however, finality of status pertains only to *slave* nations which can never become free. *Free* nations (especially those sojourning at Neutralism's halfway house) always stand a good chance of becoming enslaved.

"Mellowing Process"

Summing up his view of what has happened in Russia and what Americans should do about it, Kennan says: ". . . the changes that have recently occurred in Russia . . . represent, I think, the beginning of that mellowing process which overtakes sooner or later all militant movements. . . ." In the Mellow Era, he adds, officious Americans would have to drop their "hazy and exalted dreams of intimacy with other peoples." Why? Because "there are ways of looking at things and reacting to things about the Russian people which will always be strange to Americans and will always tend to arouse resentment if we become too closely involved in their affairs."

Here Kennan appears to be saying, Americans — dreaming their hazy dreams—might mistake the Mellowness rising from Lubianka prison for the smell of rotting flesh.

What, finally, is the Expert's own judgment of this extraordinary performance? In a paragraph which he allowed to represent his views of 1952, Kennan wrote:

> When there is something the Russians want from us, one or the other features of their [duplicitous] policy may be thrust temporarily into the background; and when that happens, there will always be Americans who will leap forward with gleeful announcements that "the Russians have changed. . . ."

So we can happily finish on a note of agreement with Mr. Kennan.

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Taiwan: Trial and Error

FREDA UTLEY

Confucius said that a man who commits a mistake and refuses to admit it, commits another and worse mistake. Whereas Truman, Marshall and Acheson strove to cover up the errors of their China policy by compounding them, their scapegoat, the National Government of China, has recognized and gone far to remedy its mistakes and failures on the mainland.

With few exceptions it was the best and most dedicated Chinese who accompanied the remnants of Chiang's defeated forces from the mainland in China's darkest hour, and have continued to stick it out on Formosa in the belief that if they reform themselves they will be able to liberate the mainland.

Power would seem to be passing with the consent, and perhaps even through the initiative, of Chiang Kai-shek to men of the type of Defense Minister Yu Ta-wei; Foreign Minister George Yeh and his able subordinates such as Deputy Vice Foreign Minister S. K. Chow; and the young and alert Director of Information, Sansom Shen, who helped Chiang Ching-kuo to learn about freedom in America when he accompanied Chiang Kai-shek's Russian-educated son on his recent visit to the United States. And to other able administrators and economic and financial experts such as Yen Chia-kan, the Governor of Taiwan; Kiang Piao, the Minister of Economics; Hsu Peh-yuan, the Minister of Finance, and Chang Tse-Kai, Chairman of the Board of the Bank of Taiwan; and numerous others whose outstanding qualifications, Western education and known integrity would enable them to hold well paid jobs in America or Europe. Instead they choose to serve the Chinese Nationalist cause on salaries so small that, in many cases, their wives go to work to supplement the family budget. The most important fact is that men of this caliber would not do so unless they had authority.

Dr. George Yeh, for instance, longs for the day when he can retire from his arduous duties as Foreign Minister and accept one of the several offers he has had from American universities to be professor of the history of art. Defense Minister Yu Ta-wei, a small, dynamic man with the head of a scholar and the mind of a philosopher, is a Harvard Ph.D. who was offered a professorship in mathematics. He also studied in Germany where he learned about weapons at Krupp's. He became the Chinese Chief of Ordnance at the time the Sino-Japanese war began, and he and his subordinates always enjoyed an enviable reputation for honesty, efficiency and devotion to the national cause.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that the aging hand of the Kuomintang Party as also the cliques of yes-men and time servers (who kept Chiang Kai-shek in ignorance of those abuses of his administration on the mainland which led many Chinese to the mistaken belief that things might be better, and could not be worse, under the Communists) still have influence in Formosa. This influence, no doubt, accounts for such absurdities as the banning of Eileen Chang's moving exposure of the terrible realities of life in Communist China in her *Rice Sprout Song,* presumably because, being a novel depicting life on the mainland, it naturally includes abusive criticism of Chiang Kai-shek and his government.

This kind of stupid and self-defeating censorship not only keeps the "Free Chinese" in ignorance of the best books exposing the horrors of Communism; it also alienates many of China's best anti-Communist experts, writers, and other independent-minded intellectuals. And it constitutes a great handicap to the National Government's efforts to win friends among the overseas Chinese, the exiles, and the oppressed people of the mainland.

Chinese Nationalist planes, at great risk, drop leaflets far over the mainland at night. But these leaflets, instead of concentrating on such subjects as the horrors of land reform and "People's Democracy" in Communist China as compared with the steady and beneficial reforms on Formosa, usually contain nothing but Chiang Kai-shek's moral exhortations, or sermons on Sun Yat Sen's Three Principles and his blending of them with his own Christian faith. Moreover, because Chiang is wont to describe the Communists as "bandits" this expression is the term perpetually repeated by his subordinates, in spite of the absurdity of using it to describe the Peking regime which controls China and has jet planes and all the rest of the equipment of a modern totalitarian state.

However, these faults are recognized by the modern-minded members of the Government. There is reason to hope that the reform of abuses is rendering the Chinese National Government more self-confident, and therefore less inclined to suppress criticism instead of letting the facts speak for themselves. Increasing American moral and political support helps this process.

On the other hand, the vacillations in U.S. policy toward the Communist menace, and our holding back of our allies from attempts to liberate their countrymen, naturally have an adverse effect on Chinese morale.

Defense Minister Yu Ta-wei is a man with few illusions but great faith, who spends much of his time with the armed forces on the offshore islands. He fears only that he may not live long enough to see the day when the U.S. realizes its peril and unleashes the anti-Communist forces in Asia; for he is very ill.

"Some of the politicians in Washington," he told me, "do not understand that the best defense is an offensive. But the time must come when Americans will understand. The most important thing to tell the West is that we now have a modern *citizen's* army recruited through a draft which takes no account of social status or origin." In his view this is a change of far-reaching importance—an institutional change which marks the difference between a medieval and a modern state.

One wonders only whether the present high level of morale can be maintained if hope of invading the mainland recedes. As Walter Judd said to me in Seoul: "You can't train a team continually to top pitch and never let it play in a match."

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Appeal of the Captive Nations

On Human Rights Day (December 10) Mr. Vilis Masens of Latvia, Chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, standing across from the United Nations Plaza, issued an appeal to world opinion of which we print the concluding section.

The captive nations want national independence, that is an end to Soviet military occupation, open or disguised, and of Soviet rule. They want bread—meaning an end to the misery of exploitation for the benefit of the Soviet war machine. Above all, they want freedom, that is the restoration of full political liberty and human rights, and the unhindered exercise of their inalienable right to choose freely the government under which they want to live.

The Hungarian people have written in their blood the rejection by all captive peoples of any form of Communism, the "Muscovite brand" and the so-called "national" brand as well.

Our peoples do not believe in the possibility of any Communist regime peacefully *evolving* toward freedom, for the simple reason that total control, designed precisely to prevent free evolution, is a matter of life and death for Communism.

Our peoples never will resign themselves to live in slavery; nor will they ever be satisfied with the superficial "liberalization" Communists can grant (without undermining their power) with or without some measure of material improvements. They expect that the free world, if unable to help them in attaining their aspirations, shall at least refrain from advocating political solutions which are profoundly distasteful to those most directly concerned.

But the Hungarian revolution did more than proclaim, for all to see and hear, the true aspirations of the captive peoples. It has shown that these aspirations are attainable as well.

It has shown that successful revolution against a totalitarian regime is possible even in our days, as long as despots cannot count on the loyalty of the men who bear arms.

Without the brutal intervention of Soviet armed forces, Hungary would now be a free nation.

The basic lesson of the Hungarian revolution is then that the captive peoples can liberate themselves provided the Soviet Union is deterred from intervening by fear of serious international consequences or by its own internal troubles. Our peoples believe that it is within the power of the free nations to help in creating one or another of the conditions under which the captive peoples could recapture their freedom. It is the conviction of our peoples that this can be done without a new world war, and that it *must* be done in order to forestall another war.

Effective help to the fighting people of Hungary has been denied on the ground that it would lead to an all out war. Those who have observed at close quarters Soviet might and have battled it are the least overawed by it. They seriously doubt that with the people of the Red Empire seething in latent revolt, and with their goals in armaments as yet unattained, the Soviets would deliberately risk war today. They, therefore, are convinced that undue fear of war has deprived the free world of a unique opportunity to push forward the borders of freedom—and thus to take a decisive step toward real *peace* by making another war less likely.

Our peoples strongly believe that with the advent of the atomic age *peace and freedom have become indivisible.* Possession of the ultimate weapons of destruction by a totalitarian world-power, whose government is not restrained by moral law nor checked by popular control, is a permanent threat to peace. No amount of technical controls and agreements can bring any measure of reliable safety against this threat.

In the free world, the power of governments is limited both by moral principles and checks and balances inherent in the democratic system. No free democracy can ever launch a paralyzing sneak attack against its enemy. World peace, therefore, demands that the checks and balances, and the popular control already existent in the free world, be extended to all possible sources of nuclear surprise attack or atomic blackmail.

The free nations have but one sure way of working effectively for peace: to unite in a determined crusade to help all freedom-loving peoples, the peoples of Russia included, to shake off their oppressors.

Liberation of Man and nations is the only alternative to the terrifying spectre of nuclear war.

This then is the appeal of the captive peoples to the nations of the free world on the eighth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

Realize that the observance of human rights has ceased to be an ideal to be cautiously pursued over many years. It has become the ultimate safeguard against nuclear destruction and thus an urgent condition of peace.

Help us with all measures short of war in our struggle for freedom. Our freedom will safeguard your own freedom and secure world peace.

Stop treating the puppets which the Soviet invaders have foisted upon our nations as governments worthy of recognition.

Keep strong and united. Right is on your side. Mobilize the moral forces of mankind. Take the political offensive. Act boldly for freedom on all occasions and in all possible ways. Match the determination and courage of the people of Hungary and both freedom and peace will triumph.

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THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Controversy and the Courts

Recently over one hundred eminent members of the bar expressed in a joint statement their concern over "abuse" of the United States Supreme Court and deplored lack of respect for the Constitution as interpreted by that Court.

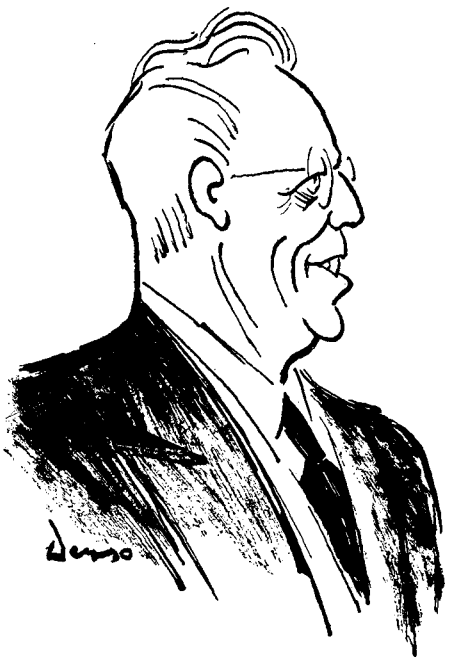
Now judges with few exceptions are intelligent, hard-working, conscientious men who want to do the right thing, and all the more so the higher their rank in the judicial hierarchy. There is no general discontent with our courts. People are usually shocked at disobedience to a court order, and rightly so. How does it happen that these distinguished lawyers should find it necessary to issue such a statement about the Court that is at the pinnacle of our judicial system?

The answer is, I believe, in the legislative character of that Court's work, a character not shared substantially by any of the lower courts. As Robert A. Dahl, Professor of Political Science at Yale, puts it in *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, "the patent fact [is] that the Supreme Court is a legislative body."

Legislators Often Denounced

Now our legislators and legislative bodies are always regarded as fair game for unlimited denunciation. This, although liberty, which we prize so highly, or profess to, has never existed in a society without a powerful and independent legislature. Christopher Sykes refers to this paradox in the current issue of *Encounter*: "The parliamentary form of government is the most apt to grant [writers] that freedom of speech without which their calling is in vain . . . The fact remains that when you look into what has been written by authors on the subject of parliamentary [men], you will find almost nothing but sarcasm, irony, contempt and abuse."

I have described judges as "intelligent, hard-working, conscientious men who want to do the right thing." This description applies as much to the late Senator Robert A. Taft as to any judge who ever lived. Even his enemies agreed to that, at least when they came to write the obituaries. But during his lifetime "sarcasm, irony, contempt and abuse" were his daily lot.



The Chief Justice

And historically the Supreme Court has suffered the same fate when it has, to adopt the phrase of Justice Frankfurter in *Griffin v. Illinois*, "made new law." The decisions of the Court under Chief Justice Marshall, first making specific application of the general language of the Constitution, were sharply criticized. President Jackson, among others, referred to the Court contemptuously.

Dred Scott Decision

Perhaps the most extreme denunciation of the Supreme Court followed its decision in the Dred Scott case, holding that Congress lacked power to abolish slavery in the territories. The New York *Tribune* asserted that the Court had "rushed into politics" and that the decision was "entitled to just so much weight as would be the judgment of a majority of those congregated in any Washington bar-room." According to Warren's *History of the Supreme Court* other newspapers of the Northeast commented in the same vein and those of the West "indulged in even greater scurrility and abuse." During this period the state courts of Ohio and Wisconsin affirmatively defied the Supreme Court.

After the Civil War for a period of some fifty to sixty years ending in 1937 the Supreme Court frequently held unconstitutional laws for the control of corporations and other welfare measures. These decisions greatly offended the Liberal intelligentsia. Their criticism, although acid, was refined. These controversies were too complex for the general public to understand, and there was little vulgar abuse. Yet William Jennings Bryan was often intemperate, as was the elder Senator La Follette; President Franklin D. Roosevelt called the Court's opinion in the NRA case a "horse and buggy decision."

Judges Not Above Criticism

In short, the record appears to demonstrate that when people's emotions are deeply stirred by the Court's action in the policy field they are disposed to criticize in the harshest terms of their vocabulary.

Where does all this get us? That is hard to say. Certainly neither our legislators nor our judges should be above criticism. Indeed, as to the latter, the Supreme Court itself has so asserted most vigorously in a number of recent cases, especially *Bridges v. California*. On the other hand, we should realize that it is the independence of legislatures and courts that distinguishes a free from a totalitarian society. History provides many examples of a glamorous Executive able to suppress that independence because the other branches had been discredited by demagoguery. Perhaps our Liberal intelligentsia, who are so influential in communications, will set an example by confining themselves to restrained and objective criticism of those in the legislative area with whom they disagree.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Gorillas in the Stadium

Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, once Michigan State College, before that Michigan Agricultural College, did fairly well in football in 1956, as was to have been expected. It's football or else at MSU. President John M. Hannah once declared, according to *Time* (October 8), "If it meant the betterment of Michigan State, our football team would play any eleven gorillas from Barnum & Bailey any Saturday."

President Hannah, according to *Time's* reporter, is "having trouble lining up a large enough faculty; most of the men he wanted had never heard of Michigan State." Although he has succeeded in increasing the enrollment of MSU from less than seven thousand to more than nineteen thousand, in part by mighty expenditures of money and publicity upon the football squad, still the number of well-known professors on his staff remains far, far smaller than the number at any university of comparable size. And resignations from the faculty have been frequent and embarrassing. I know whereof I speak, for I was once an undergraduate at Michigan State College, and later—for seven years—I was instructor and professor there. When the institute was getting ready to convert itself from College to University, I bowed out. A deliberate lowering of standards "to keep in step with the times" was a trifle more than I could stomach; and as professors go at MSU, I went.

That was more than three years ago; and *Time* even then was interested in the inverse ratio between size and quality at MSU. It occurred to certain gentlemen at *Time* that it might be possible to write an article on how the "cow colleges," the agricultural and technical state institutions, despite their emphasis on football and gigantic enrollments, nevertheless were endeavoring to build sound faculties. This was in September 1953. Now it happened that *Time*, two months earlier, had devoted the whole of its book-section to a review of my *Conservative Mind*. Michigan State College: *Time* - commended football squad; *Time* - commended historian; Providential conjunction. A *Time* man made his way to East Lansing, to commence the proposed story of the union of football with learning, Dr. John Hannah presiding as Doge. But, unknown to *Time*, I had resigned in dudgeon the week before its man arrived.

A glad-hander from the Department of Public Relations clutched the *Time* man in a loving embrace, and the representative of the weekly outlined the sort of story he hoped to write. "First of all," said the *Time* man in substance, "I'd like to talk with Professor Kirk."

The Public Relations functionary gasped and blinked. "Let's go down to the stadium," said he, "and you can meet the boys on the squad."

"No," the *Time* man replied, "this story is to be about the *intellectual* side of MSC."

"Biggie Munn's probably down at the stadium right now," said the Public Relations man. "I'll take you right over."

"But when will I meet Professor Kirk?" inquired the *Time* man, somewhat plaintively.

"Kirk?" The Public Relations man shrugged. "I don't think I ever heard of anybody by that name around here. We're sure lucky to have a coach like Biggie Munn."

"On my way to your office," said the *Time* man, "someone told me he heard that Professor Kirk was resigning. Can that be true? Where can I get in touch with him?"

"This campus is a big place," murmured the Public Relations man, leading the *Time* man to his car. "I just don't know where you'd find Kirk. Well, it's a great day to watch the squad."

"But has Professor Kirk resigned?"

"I couldn't say." The Public Relations man thrust the *Time* man into the college car. "You'll want to see our field house, too. And don't let anybody tell you we haven't got some bright boys on the squad. We've got ethics here."

Well, the *Time* man never did find me. The foregoing dialogue is not verbatim, for I wasn't present, but it represents the sum and substance of that interview. Mistake me not: Michigan State has no objection to brains, so long as brains know their place. But it's first things first at MSU. Build the squad, and build the enrollment, and build the dormitories; and when you've got things on a sound quantitative basis, then you can begin to think about hiring the brains. Who says you can't hire brains? MSU pays higher salaries for beginning instructors than perhaps any other university in the Middle West. Where are the distinguished professors? Well, Biggie Munn's been promoted to Director of Athletics, you know (his predecessor having been prematurely retired to make room, tenure or no tenure), and there's a swell new coach, Duffy Daugherty. And President Hannah has told the potential intellectuals away back there in the classroom buildings to step up production. Every member of the staff is expected to publish one scholarly article a year, or else. Complaints about the scholarly journals refusing to accept the spate of articles from MSU? We'll show them; we'll publish our own magazine, and then the per capita article-production will climb.

MSU doesn't forget the works of the mind. Some years ago, President Hannah remarked in the course of a radio-address, "As that great man, George Eliot, once said. . ." That sort of thing doesn't happen since State became a university. A professor of English and an editor have been pressed into service, writing presidential speeches, and George Eliot has rejoined the gentler sex. Wh says you can't buy brains? Those gaps in the faculty are going to be filled up, even if we have to send Duffy Daugherty out recruiting. Maybe we'll bring in Lionel Trilling, or Arnold Toynbee. Maybe. "After all," says Duffy Daugherty, "this country is founded on competition."

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Miss Hellman's Cynical "Candide"

If Miss Lillian Hellman will pardon the expression, she is no Voltaire. Now there is no reason on earth why a live lady should be measured by the faculties of a very dead wizard. But the trouble is that Miss Hellman stubbornly insists on such unbecoming comparisons by submitting *Candide,* for critical appraisal, as "a comic operetta."

Nor am I the only one to be grieved. Mr. Walter Kerr, who conducts an Eisenhower version of "Arts and Manners" in the *Herald Tribune,* called Miss Hellman's *Candide* "a spectacular disaster." Which is an exaggeration because, frankly, there is nothing spectacular about it. Mr. Brooks Atkinson of the *Times,* on the other hand, went somewhat gaga: "*Candide* has put the musical stage on a superior intellectual and artistic level. It is civilized. . . . It has found grace and beauty in the modern theater."

Now the only thing of grace and beauty anybody has ever found in Miss Hellman's orbit was Mr. Dashiell Hammett whom the FBI, after looking all over the country for this Communist fugitive from justice, finally found some ten years ago on Miss Hellman's estate in Chappaqua, N. Y. Otherwise, people have found lots of things in Miss Hellman's work, from dramatic power to bitchiness—but never grace and beauty.

And there is, of course, none of it in Miss Hellman's *Candide.* There is, come to think of it, no grace and beauty in Voltaire's *Candide* either. In fact, grace and beauty would be, stylistically, just as displaced in a creation like *Candide* as Mr. Atkinson is among critics of style.

And it is here that the corpse is buried. Miss Hellman, who as an artist is much closer to Mr. Atkinson than to Voltaire, has obviously never understood the book she turned into "a comic operetta."

Voltaire's *Candide* is an adventure in irony. And irony, a very special approach to life, is an attempt to prove the absurdity of existence by *accepting* its premises. For example, I use irony whenever I treat Mr. Atkinson as if he were the nation's leading theater critic. If, however, I were to call him a corrupt nonentity I would have turned in my ironical franchise, in exchange for a very small investment in cynicism. Cynicism is an attempt to prove the evil of existence by *debasing* its motivations.

Miss Hellman misunderstood irony as cynicism. Candide (who for Voltaire and his comprehending readers was a sweet child of innocence) has turned into an oaf. Dr. Pangloss (in Voltaire's *Candide* a guileless conformist) is now a con-man of the Bert Lahr type. Cunegonde (one of Eve's genuine daughters who "can resist anything but temptation") has become a whore. And so on. In Miss Hellman's Manhattan-knowing hands, every bud of ironical imagination has opened into an overripe cabbage. To quote Oscar Wilde once more, the cynical Miss Hellman knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. She knows, especially, the price of a Social Message and she is ignorant of the value of the nuances which alone make life worth while.

Consequently, Voltaire would be astonished to learn that the few paupers his Candide met during his pilgrimage through a foolish world were incomparably nearer to Truth than anyone else. To Miss Hellman, who's learned all about Karl Marx from Mr. Dashiell Hammett himself, this is axiomatic. Only how much good this will do to a comic operetta, I shall never know.

And I certainly did not learn it from seeing Miss Hellman's *Candide.* The production could not have been under friendlier auspices. In the first place, Mr. Leonard Bernstein wrote a handsome, serviceable and in spots even witty musical score. Mr. Richard Wilbur, assisted by the late John Latouche and by Miss Dorothy Parker, wrote the lyrics and, to the surprise of no one who knows his poetry, was unable to write an ugly word. And yet, even when Messrs. Wilbur and Bernstein were entirely on their own, the show never soared above the plane of Miss Hellman.

The reason, it seems to me, is that they were deeply embarrassed by Miss Hellman's corroding cynicism. Americans, in general, are constitutionally incapable of cynicism—which, I should like to add, is very likely their greatest quality. To the extent that Mr. Bernstein is a creative musician he is, unquestionably, creative in the American musical vernacular. His music for *On the Town* was refreshing, funny, and even better than that, simply because, in that musical of a few years ago, he was permitted to be as sentimental, as impudent, and as utterly uncynical as young Americans really are. But in *Candide* he composed far above his intellectual means—and stumbled over assignments any mediocre French music-hall hack would have competently executed. Cynicism is a drug on the French market. But when the American Mr. Bernstein tries to get cynical, he stammers.

And this is even more manifest in the case of Mr. Wilbur. Only recently I have read a few beautiful poems of his, and each of them was a miniature monument to a very humane sentiment. But what was he supposed to build monuments for in Miss Hellman's slightly depraved and completely distorted universe? This was so clearly not Mr. Wilbur's legitimate habitat that, each time a lyric sounded at least funny and cutting, I was sure I was hearing Miss Parker who, as everybody knows, owns American cynicism outright.

The very highlights of the Hellman-Bernstein *Candide* were moments when the listener, suddenly pleased, had the haunting feeling that he had heard this very same thing before. And indeed, he soon remembered a passage from *Rosenkavalier,* an arabesque from an Offenbach operetta, a gay absurdity from Gilbert and Sullivan. But if such allusions are the only happy moments a new Broadway musical can produce, why can't we get really happy with a few genuine Offenbachs and G & S's?

Candide, a friend reassures me, is in spite of all this the best musical of the Broadway season. And so it is. But this is by far not the best season "in this best of all possible worlds."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

To High Heaven

WILLMOORE KENDALL

In his *Trial Balance* (Pantheon, $4.50), Mr. Alan Valentine has frankly attempted to do for twentieth-century America what Henry Adams' autobiography did for nineteenth-century America. This however gets him into a peck of trouble that he could well have avoided—by writing his own book, and not knocking himself out on every page to live up to Adams.

Like Adams, Mr. Valentine is no great shakes as a thinker, and knows he isn't; unlike Adams, he has not made a profession of creating the illusion of great thought, or imposed upon himself the intellectual discipline by which a man might, given the innate capacity, make of his education a microcosm of the intellectual history of his time. Adams, in other words, at least did his homework, and made himself aware of what, intellectually, was going on around him; had the Soviet Union and World Communism grown up under his nose, for example, he would have known that the man in search of education had to square off to them. Mr. Valentine—or "Angus," as he calls himself here—has not merely not done his homework; he seems hardly aware that there has been homework to do, and can convincingly say to the major intellectual and moral and esthetic currents of his time: "Hah! Never touched me!" (Which explains, *inter alia*, why he thinks Adams is worth imitating.)

As intellectual and educational history, then, *Trial Balance* is a mediocre imitation of a mediocre model, not worth writing and certainly not worth reading.

So let's talk about Mr. Valentine's own book—that is, the book that he must have been pregnant with, since it wrote itself into the interstices of the book he was consciously writing, and that will be welcome reading to many men and women out over the land who must, like this reviewer, have been waiting for just such a book. Its title might well have been *The Near-Redemption of An Arriviste*, and it belongs, despite its lack of methodological self-consciousness, on the same shelf with Rousseau's *Confessions* and Casanova's *Mémoires* and Newman's *Apologia*.

Like all three it is frank and at times merciless autobiography, which spares the faults and foibles neither of the protagonist nor of the persons he comes in contact with nor, in consequence, of the society to which he and these persons belong.

Like the third—the *Apologia*—it describes the protagonist's progressive disillusionment about the career he has chosen for himself, about the people with whom that career obliges him to do business, and, finally, about the way the business is done, and about the ideas and principles presupposed in its being done that way. And, what is more important, it describes the protagonist's discovery in late middle age of the truths he would have needed to know as a youth in order to have made sense of his life.

As I have already intimated, Angus is, to an extent Mr. Valentine surely does not realize (else he would at least have apologized for it), just plain a careerist—and, worse still, a careerist *à la* Riesman, an other-directed careerist, the spit and image therefore of most of the administrators and big-name professors one has known in the universities one has attended, and the men who staff the bureaucracies.

We follow Angus in the book through the steps the more successful careerists are likely to have taken—four pointless years "in pursuit of praise" at a manners college (Swarthmore), three equally pointless years as a Rhodes Scholar in Oxford (whence, curiously, he returned thinking he had hurt himself as far as "success" was concerned, but a "confident young cosmopolite" all the same), into a publishing house, through the moment when he discovers the infinite careerist potentialities in being an administrator, through deanships at Swarthmore and Yale, through ten years as president of a university, through being "in" on the Manhattan Project, through tenure of an exalted post in (as one would expect) foreign aid, through a period as Truman's price czar in Washington, and into the presidency of the Committee for a Free Asia.

If Angus ever has any reason for moving from one of these posts to another, any goal or purpose or cause or philosophy that might give him something to accomplish in life, whether within or outside himself, or any incentive other than rising to higher and higher posts in the Establishment, Mr. Valentine never gets around to mentioning it. And he clearly has what it takes—again one senses rather than sees, as he goes up and up, the ingratiating smile, the pleasant manners, the brightness just the necessary shade short of the brilliance that intimidates and estranges, the eye on the administrative ball, the adroitness at bureaucratic infighting, the disinclination to press controversial issues, the respectable, not to say circumspect, opinion and attitudes, the ability to get out the words "There is a great deal in what you say" no matter how much you disagree, the knack for seeming the perfect listener while in fact not hearing at all, that make up the paraphernalia of the man the Establishment can make use of and likes to reward.

Everything it takes, that is, except one—namely, the capacity to go on

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forever subordinating one's fundamental decency and devotion to the public thing and good sense to the necessities of the Establishment and the requirements of careerism. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he retains, until a late date, the faculty of justifying these indispensable sacrifices *in his immediate assignment,* but progressively loses the faculty of justifying them in retrospect—so that, as he moves from bureaucratic area to bureaucratic area, realizing he can never go back because he is fed up, he runs out of areas in which he can justify them in prospect.

Angus at the end of the book, in fine, has his belly full of all the careers in sight. He has been in the high places of American institutional life, and knows in his heart that they stink to high heaven, that they are full of dishonesty and corruption and incompetence, that the social gatherings frequented by their incumbents put their highest premium on shallowness and insincerity, and that they drain a man of his capacity for living a full and rounded and meaningful life.

And Angus has discovered what his education—with which he is as unhappy as Adams was with his—would have had to give him in order to assure him a better destiny:

> Angus had . . . finally arrived where most of the great minds began—with spiritual aspiration. . . . Earlier wise men knew that the one great common denominator of the human spirit is religious experience. There are men today who believe that, . . . but their voices are weak against the noise . . .

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Mr. Valentine completes that sentence with the words: "of the machines." He should have said: "of the people in high places."

I have said this is a book for which many men and women must, like this reviewer, have been waiting. For the single most depressing fact about contemporary America is that the finest men and women one knows, those with the deepest religious faith and the highest spiritual aspirations, those who embody most fully the so-called "values of the West," finally seek their destinies outside the nation's leading educational and governmental and opinion-forming institutions, avoid their cocktail parties, and pass up their literature. Moreover, more and more people know this, and, necessarily, ask themselves why it is true. They will surely welcome the first book that comes out and says why; and this is it.

The Enemy

The Red Army, edited by B. H. Liddell Hart. 480 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. $6.00

Unlike some of Captain Liddell Hart's previous works, this volume is preponderantly technical and an essential reference book on the Soviet Army. Only one of the 39 chapters (a foreshortened account of the 1941-45 Russo-German campaign) is written by Captain Hart himself. The rest is by some two dozen authorities.

While this format inevitably makes for unevenness in style and a certain lack of continuity, the specialists are well chosen. They include former German generals, such as Guderian, von Manstein and Bayerlein, several defectors from the Red Army itself, and a scattering of British and French officers and diplomats. The only American contributor is Colonel G. C. Reinhardt, who does an especially interesting chapter on tactical atomic weapons.

The over-all conclusion: the Soviet Army is very, very formidable in numbers, discipline and hardware; and its greatest potential weakness is the poor morale of the peasant infantryman. But notwithstanding a first-rate piece on "The Partisan Forces" by Captain N. Galay, a former officer in General Vlasov's anti-Communist Russian army, it seems to me that a great deal more insight might have been provided about the massive defections by both soldiers and civilians in 1941-42. In another war the encouragement and exploitation of defection by Soviet citizens could be as important a factor as fire power.

In other ways, too, the book neglects the interrelated political and ideological side in favor of conventional military considerations. For instance, Captain Hart attributes to strictly military concerns the Soviet Army's halt on the Vistula before Warsaw in 1944 while the Germans crushed the Polish underground forces. But General Bor-Komorowski (who is not even mentioned in this book) has amply proved his charge that Rokossovsky's army was purposely held back from Warsaw, by Political Commissar Bulganin, in order to let the Nazi SS troops wipe out Bor's anti-Communist patriots, after the Soviet radio had urged the latter to rise against the Germans. Another contributor devotes four pages to the Polish Army without mentioning the Katyn Forest "social engineering" operation that rubbed out half the old Polish officer corps.

With these reservations the book is recommended, though not for light fireside reading.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

Valor Rooted in Faith

Garlic for Pegasus, by Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J. 213 pp. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. $3.50

This is the thrilling story of Benito de Goes, S.J., the sixteenth-century Portuguese soldier who joined the Jesuits and became a lay brother in India. He travelled on horseback, from Goa through the Khyber Pass in the Himalayas, passing Tibet, to establish contact with the great Jesuit missionary, Father Matteo Ricci, who had already penetrated into the heart of the Celestial Empire of China.

One is reminded, throughout this account, of Tschieffely's almost identical exploit twenty-five years ago, when he rode his 10,000 miles from Buenos Aires to Washington, crossing the Andes at a height six thousand feet above the limit at which horses

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are supposed to be able to breatne. Everything is similar here, with a difference only in the fauna: being stalked by the greater cats and by crocodiles; fording swollen rivers full of murderous piranas and electric eels; being eaten alive by mosquitoes and bush-ticks; hacking one's way, foot by foot, through almost impenetrable jungle, full of snakes and constrictors; suffering from fevers; falling in with bandits; and being attacked by savages. Tschieffely, till he died two years ago, was my inseparable comrade and companion, and from him I learned almost as much about the difficulties and dangers of such a ride as if I had been with him personally. And I recognize Tschiffely frequently in his sixteenth-century prototype.

De Goes rode his horses, for some part of his journey, in the very track taken by Alexander the Great, through a country of horsemen where every horse was claimed, by its owner, to be the one and only descendant of no less an ancestor than Bucephalus himself. Besides himself, Benito's caravan consisted of three Kirghiz guides. Five of his horses died. People got unbearable headaches, with nausea, ears buzzing, and lungs bleeding. But they seemed to believe that garlic was a cure for mountain sickness, and for rubbing on bleeding and festering gums caused by the cold or the altitude. Hence the somewhat whimsical title of this book.

Brother Benito communicates more than a little of his whimsicality to his biographer. This is a great pity, since Father Schoenberg has otherwise a fine gift for narration and character-drawing. His frivolity and verbal skittishness is apt to become embarrassing when overdone, as it fairly often is. The iron discipline and heroic sacrifice of the Jesuits ill suits them for chattiness; and when one of them affects it out of friendliness or kindness to his reader, he sounds like a good-natured lion trying to chirrup.

Apart from this one quibble as to style, however, the book is a breathless tale of adventure. There is a memorable portrait, based on first-hand diaries, including that of de Goes himself, of the Great Mogul Akbar—a wonderful if paradoxical character. Above all, it is a truthful story of invincible Christian valor, rooted in faith. ROY CAMPBELL

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

Center Ring: The People of the Circus, by Robert Lewis Taylor. 250 pp. New York: Doubleday & Company. $3.50

What the circus once brought to a small town was not only parades, glitter, and pink lemonade, but the circus people themselves—the freaks, the dedicated nomads, the real, live, unliterary Outsiders, whose outlaw image entered the average citizen's precincts once a year, and stirred him, healthily, to consider his own excesses of conformity. But as of this year, the Big Top stopped rising summer mornings in vacant fields all over America, leaving a whole generation of children without the possibility of remembering themselves sneaking under a tent. By way of obit, Robert Lewis Taylor has collected his *New Yorker* profiles of Ringling Brothers' truest *monstres sacrés,* from Mr. Ringling himself to Gargantua's press agent.

Jules Verne, by Marguerite Alotte de la Fuye. 222 pp. New York: Coward-McCann. $3.95

If Scientific Progress ever had a poet, it was not Lord Tennyson, officially intoning its material wonders, but this Frenchman, Jules Verne, whose genius, as his publisher once aptly remarked, "was for the perpendicular," and whose imagination was bewitched by what lay beyond the farthest reaches of the sea, the earth, atoms, and outer space. As one might guess from any of his magnetic books, his life was his work. He was Jules Verne only legally; in heart, in spirit, in vision, he was a long succession of hotly haunted Captain Nemos.

Thins, edited by Geoffrey Grigson and Charles Harvard Gibbs-Smith. Illustrated. 466 pp. New York: Hawthorn Books. $10.00

The least inadequate way to describe this book is to call it a Selected Encyclopedia of Inanimate Objects, though it will probably feel more at home in the guest room than next to the *Britannica.* There are about two hundred entries, and the criterion for selection seems to have been the superfine and slightly ghoulish whimsy of the editors. For instance, under G., personable little essays on GROTTOES, GRAMOPHONE, GLASS EYES, and GALLOWS (with cross reference to GUILLOTINE and ROPE). None of the entries is uninteresting, and many are wonderfully cuckoo; though none can quite compete with the idea of the book itself. For your oddest friend, let's say, along with a fifth of bourbon, for Boxing-Day.

A Thornton Wilder Trio, with an introduction by Malcolm Cowley. 309 pp. New York: Criterion. $3.95

In one of the best-known passages from *The Bridge,* Uncle Pio arbitrarily divides the human race "into two groups, those who have loved and those who have not." This is a dangerous division, of course. Many important and highly regarded writers have *not* written about love. But their works form only the periphery around all those others who have. And it is near this center that the best of Wilder's plays and novels will remain when a very substantial percentage of his contemporaries who have already had theses written about their "place" will be only file cards in the Library of Congress.

The Borzoi Book of French Folk Tales, Selected and edited by Paul Delarue. Illustrated by Warren Chappell. 403 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $5.00

There is always something a little melancholy about a scholarly collection of folk tales. Like birds in an aviary, they will probably sing; but whoever is listening ought to feel uncomfortable. As the leading curator of the French folk tale, Mr. Delarue here presents fifty-four of his liveliest captives, all speaking good English and wearing footnotes, appendices, and pretty little doodles by Warren Chappell. The whole project has the best intentions, but if you don't want them to lead you where all good intentions go, you'd better do just what the original, anonymous folk authors did: sit down next to your offspring before he goes to sleep; pick up your imagination; and improvise something of your own.

(Reviewed by Robert Phelps)

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To the Editor

Learning from Hungary

I must express my personal gratitude for the opportunity of reading the outstanding comments of Professor Wilhelmsen and Father Parry on "The Meaning of Hungary" in your December 1 issue.

New Hyde Park, N.Y. FRED F. JAMES

The recent articles on Hungary were magnificent, inasmuch as they reflected the tremendous heroism of the Hungarian people shining as a beacon light, alongside of our Administration's patriotic dim bulb *vis à vis* the Communist problem. (You can tell I'm a reader, i.e., *vis à vis*.)

Detroit, Mich. ROBERT J. CONGER

"Abstractions Kill the West"

"Abstractions Kill the West", your editorial of December 8, is the best piece of journalism I have read. As a tragedy it ranks with the best of Shakespeare, although their merits could never be compared: One is an esthetic creation of the imagination, the other a clairvoyant observation of reality.

I am grateful that the author did not condemn the policy of the U.S., but merely expressed our weakness, because the situation is not one of white or black, right or wrong. A policy that would ideally be right and eventually triumphant becomes right and eventually disastrous when we deal with Russia. I say it is better to be a victor than a martyr.

New Haven, Conn. JEREMIAH YOUNG

Not in a long time have I read anything that hit the nail as squarely on the head as your editorial "Abstractions Kill the West." It seems to me—as it must have to you—that the surprise of the Suez crisis was the extent of the damage which the habit of reasoning in UN terms has done to our common sense.

While I fully share your view on the phony philosophy of "peace" that goes under the UN label, I must confess that I have underestimated the power of its influence. In a pinch, I thought, common sense and the realization of our true interests would prevail. It just did not occur to me that nations who can claim title to a reputation for political wisdom could possibly equate Britain's and France's moderate and limited action to restore some kind of order to an unbalanced Middle East with Russia's savage massacre of an entire people, and call both equally "aggression." It did not seem possible that we would consider a majority of votes including our own sworn enemies as an interest overriding the loyalties binding us to our oldest friends. The confusion has struck deep, deep roots in our minds.

All the more power to you in your efforts to lay bare these roots, to call them by name. Regardless of whether your efforts succeed, this much at least is owed the truth.

Notre Dame, Ind. GERHART NIEMEYER

Our Correspondents Abroad

Permit me to register a protest against the intemperate language of Mr. F. A. Voigt's "Letter from London" in your December 1 issue. He calls the widespread opposition to British Government policy in Egypt "an abandonment of plain patriotism," and "disloyalty." His article is not only misleading but a grave insult to the very many English men and women of all shades of political affiliation whose patriotism needs no endorsement from your correspondent because they do not happen to agree with the policy of the Prime Minister. May I add that I am in hearty agreement with them.

New York City JANE S. NICKERSON

. . . F. A. Voigt in the November 17 issue . . . seems to state that England and France were motivated by all that is noble and unselfish in their "allied" attempt to save the world, by saving the Middle East, from Communism. Is this reasonable?

If France as a nation is so concerned with Communism, her legislature would not be composed of at least one-quarter Communist or far left members. Both France and England then should have sought a different kind of victory in Korea, rather than mere lip service participation.

Is the Middle East so important to the security of the world or to the security of their immediate worlds?

When Voigt speaks of the danger of Russia among the Arab nations, he makes light of the danger of Israel among the Arab nations. Has not this nation received preferred treatment which has hurt many Arab nations? Did not Russian aid to Israel make victory theirs in the war of 1948-49?

I cannot but doubt Voigt when he talks of Israel acting independently in the war against Egypt. She would not have dared. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa. DR. J. HENRY O'HERN, JR.

When Thomas Jefferson, in drafting the Declaration of Independence, substituted for the words of John Locke, "property and possessions," the words, "the pursuit of happiness," he opened the door upon the road that is seen so clearly by F. A. Voigt in your issue of November 10.

And Wilhelm Roepke, in the same issue, "A European Looks at American Intellectuals," delivers a body blow to the supposed creed in the American heritage to the effect that the way to get results is not through the use of the mind (by intellectual or capitalist), but by power of numbers (in votes or in purchasing power). More power to your REVIEW!

Stanford, Cal. EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

A Tithe for our Heritage

I do not agree with L. Brent Bozell's November 24 conclusions in regard to what "conservatives" should do. Infiltration of existing parties, or the hopeless efforts at third parties, etc. will get us nowhere. . . .

There is only one way to get conservatives elected—have more conservative voters. How do you get them? 1) Get libertarian teaching into schools. 2) Every individual and business which wants to remain free, should devote at least 10 per cent of energy and income to promote truth in economics and in our Republican heritage. This is a 365 days a year job, not one that can be done in a few months every four years. . . .

What will it profit a business to spend billions for expansion—only to be nationalized sooner or later!

Chippewa Falls, Wis. FRANK J. MEINEN

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Hon._____
House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C 25

My dear Congressman

I am one of your constituents. I reside at (insert your address).

As one of our many millions of taxpayers, I am strongly opposed to all needless waste of my money in conducting the business of government.

A sub-committee of the House Ways and Means Committee is making a study of the inequities in our Federal Income Tax laws. I think this is politically inspired and will not be objective.

I earnestly urge creation of a NON POLITICAL commission, similar to the Hoover Commission to be appointed by Congress to make an objective study of our entire revenue code with the purpose of eliminating those methods of taxation which destroy capitalism and investment incentive and encourage socialism.

Yours respectfully
YOUR NAME

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- **A $7500 family pays $1964 to Uncle Sam and $673 in state and local taxes. Total $2637.***
- **A $15,000 family pays $4578 in Federal and $1579 in state and local taxes. Total $6157.***
- **A man earning $200,000 a year is NOT fifty times better off than a man who earns $4000 because his tax is FIVE HUNDRED times more.**
- **It takes from $9000 to $20,000 of somebody's savings and investments to create one job. When you take a man's savings in taxes, you deny somebody a job.**
- **Many mothers must work because of steadily rising living costs and taxes. Lack of parental discipline is the greatest contributing factor to juvenile delinquency—combatting which adds much to your tax burden.**
- **The Income Tax is fulfilling the Marxist prophecy that the surest way to destroy a capitalist society is by "steeply graduated" taxes on income and heavy levies upon the estates of people when they die.**

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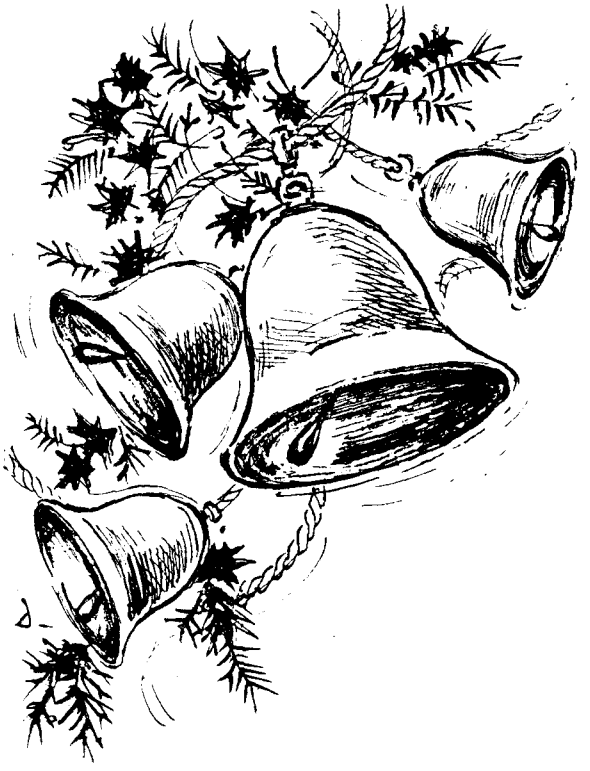

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